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241 The hardships in the cattle breeding industry are causing a shortage of manure with which the output of fertilizer factories, although increasing, cannot catch up. Hungarian peasants now use an estimated 30,000 metric tons of granulated superphosphate yearly along with 250,000 tons of peat mixed with human and animal excrement.

231 Animal husbandry before the war constituted about half the income of the rural areas. The ravage of the war inflicted terrible losses to Hungarian livestock and the country may not recover its prewar status even by 1956 in spite of the ambitious plans which call for surpassing it (see chart at the end of this Subparagraph). The primary problem of animal husbandry is the lack of fodder which is thus the chief cause of the lack of meat on the markets and the severe measures by which the government tries to regulate animal husbandry and slaughtering in the villages.

The center of cattle raising is the Hungarian West. Horses are bred mostly on the Great Plains and the center of hog fattening is in the counties Csanád, Csongrád and Békés.

246 Fishing is one of the most ancient primitive professions of the Hungary. Today, fishery uses modern methods, and numerous hatcheries and

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Table 4. Average Yields in 1938

	Wheat	Rye	Barley	Oats	Corn	Potatoes	Sugar Beets
USSR	5.6	5.6	5.1	5.5	5.9	38.	81.1
Hungary	9.6	7.3	9.2	8.0	13.1	42.3	126.6
Great Britain	14.7	9.8	13.2	12.0		100.8	95.2
USA	5.2	5.0	7.4	6.2	10.0	47.9	161.1

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Table 5. Livestock of Hungary

(in thousands)

	1935	1938	1945	1947	1950	1956 (Plan)
Cattle	1,900	1,882	1,069	1,640	1,950	2,200
Horses	900	813	329	516	538	-----
Hogs	4,700	3,110	1,113	1,992	3,000	5,500
Sheep	1,500	1,629	328	570	-----	2,300
Goats	-----	-----	-----	100	-----	-----
Mules, donkeys	-----	-----	-----	6	-----	-----
Poultry	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	20,000

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433 with the disruption of transport and the breakdown of the whole fabric of public administration.

Official figures compare industrial activity before and after the war as follows:

	1945	1938
Total number of factories*	4,341	3,990
out of which		
working with over 70 per cent capacity	186	1,229
working at 31–70 per cent capacity	1,062	1,916
working under 30 per cent capacity	1,984	486
completely out of work	1,109	89

* Plants employing more than twenty workers when in full swing.

A further factor gravely impairing output was the lack of labour discipline, while food conditions were so miserable in the first post-war year as to make the labourers physically unable to perform regular work.

[316] In 1945 coal output, with about the same personnel in the mines as in 1938, fell to roughly a half of the pre-war achievement. In that year aggregate man-hours in manufactures were roughly 50 per cent of the pre-war level.[1]

[241] In agriculture the bread-grain crop of 1945 was approxi-
[231] mately a third of a normal harvest. In livestock heavy war damage had been suffered, though official statements, according to which over 40 per cent of cattle and 60 per cent of the pig population had been lost, were thought by some experts to be rather exaggerated. Recovery in agriculture was necessarily slow, and adverse conditions for cultivation (lack of draught animals and of tractors, as well as of fertilizers), coupled with a sequence of droughts, played havoc with successive crops.

In industry the process of restoration started as soon as wholesale dismantling had ceased. Industrialists took advantage of credits in a rapidly depreciating currency to rebuild and, if possible, to modernize their plants. As to the efficiency of labour, the financial reorganization, which put an end to a galloping inflation in August 1946, provided a basis for the gradual raising of industrial output per head.

[1] The following figures cast some light on the development and the structure of manufacturing industry:

	Power equipment in 1,000 H.P.			Number of workers employed (yearly averages)	
	1938	1943	1945	1938	1945
Total	1,552	1,965	1,746*	288,000	179,000
Iron, metal, and engineering	293			91,000	71,000
Power generating	727			7,000	8,000
Textile	98			64,000	28,000
Food	223			34,000	24,000
Chemical	71			16,000	13,000

* Approximate figure.

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eager both to reconstruct their plants and to restore their former international connexions. At that time it did not yet seem dangerous either for business men or for politicians to cultivate Western contacts.

As to the structure of Hungarian society, roughly half of the population was before the war dependent on agriculture, one-quarter was engaged in mining, manufactures, and handicrafts, and about 10 per cent in commerce, banking, and communications.[1] Under the impact of post-war developments important changes took place within the various social groups. Yet the proportion of agricultural population had hardly changed to an appreciable extent until 1947.[2]

The structure of agriculture had been radically changed by the land reform of 1945 which limited agricultural holdings to the size of 100 and in certain defined cases to 200 yokes (140–280 acres). Some 1,500 big and mammoth estates and a considerable number of medium-sized holdings (200 to 1,000 yokes), roughly 30 per cent of the cultivated area, were transformed into small units. Property was assigned to 370,000 landless labourers while some 270,000 dwarf lots were enlarged.

The dislocation consequent on this sudden change in structure was not overcome during the two years that elapsed between the land reform and the Three-year Plan of 1947. The process of implementing the reform by providing the new farmers with the requisites for the economic cultivation of their holdings, was at its very initial stage. Some expedients of mutual assistance among the farmers were evolved to meet the shortage of machinery and draught animals. The lack of livestock was an aftermath of the war, stock-raising being the part of the economy which had suffered most heavily from the war. Animal husbandry had been a fairly well developed branch of farming in pre-war Hungary. It was mainly due to this fact permitting a more plentiful use of manure that average yields per acre in agriculture were higher than in other countries of South-eastern Europe. Reduced livestock, the reconstitution of which could but be gradual, meant lower agricultural output, and the insufficient supply of implements and machinery caused a setback in the mechanization of agriculture, which, in any case, in view of cheap labour, had made little progress even before the war.

In manufacturing industry new forms of industrial relations in public and private concerns had to be adopted. The position of the trade unions was substantially strengthened. Collective

[1] See further details on the census of 1941 in the Appendix, Table II.

[2] The first post-war census applies to the end of 1948. No figures were released, however, except some details on small-scale industry and commerce.

seeds. The expected yields per unit of land were cautious estimates and were all lower than the prewar yields. At January 1947 prices the total value of field crops was to reach in 1949-50, 4.3 billion forints against 4.7 billion in 1938-39. In the first year only a 3.7 billion yield was expected.

Livestock, which had suffered more from the war than crop farming, was to yield 2.8 billion forints in the first and 3.9 billion in the third year, against the prewar 4.5 billions. This included the expected increase in livestock which, realistically, was to exceed the prewar figure and was to bring the cattle population from 1.1 million head in 1946 to 1.3 million in 1950 — milch cows from 604,000 to 780,000, horses from 399,000 to 630,000, both below the prewar figures. Pigs were to number 5.9 million, against 3.4 million in 1946 and 5.2 million in 1938.

Agricultural investments out of public funds were to include such activities as extending the acreage of irrigated land, the mechanization of agriculture, consolidation of the scattered strips of small holdings, soil improvement, the purchase of pedigreed breeding stock, the reconditioning of plant and livestock breeding stations, extending agricultural education, etc.

Considering the scope for improvements, the sums provided were small and, in view of the urgency of other tasks, it was questionable whether it was wise to give such high priorities to expensive irrigation schemes and the electrification of villages.

Due to unfavorable weather, crops in the first year did not come up to expectations. Although there was a 24 percent increase in output relative to 1946-47, achievement was below the modest goals of the plan. But achievement fell short of the plan even where it need not have done so. Cropping differed markedly from that planned. There were few crops where the acreage planted was not either considerably below or above that planned. Even the planned small changes in cropping ran counter to the natural predilections of the peasant farmers.[16] A rather puzzling result was that the increases in both livestock population and meat production were claimed to have exceeded their goals by over 30 percent.

What happened in 1949 is less clear, because agriculture is dealt with rather summarily in the Final Report and other information available. Crops reached, in the aggregate, 89 percent

16. Peasant farms tended to be self-sufficient and even quite small farms had a higher proportion of their arable acreage under bread grains than the larger estates. They did not go in extensively for commercial and fodder crops.

8: Schweng S-4,5 (no date) 1951 ECI Hungary ECI

of the mark set. However, this had been set at only 87 percent of prewar. Thus crops could be 77 percent of prewar, apparently due largely to the poor yield of corn and potatoes. The per unit yield of wheat was exactly as high as planned, 1.3 tons per hectare (prewar average over 1936-40, 1.48 tons per hectare); rye was slightly better than expected, 1.15 tons per hectare, the same as prewar.[17]

Against the poor results in crop farming, the livestock figures as reported are surprisingly good, especially in view of the fact that the plan did not run the full three years but only 29 months. The cattle population is supposed to have reached 2.1 million head which is 26 percent higher than the figure planned for 1950 and 10 percent higher than the prewar figure. The pig population was claimed to have increased two and a half times in the plan period, but no dates were given. Without them the increase is meaningless and no estimate of the actual size is possible because of the large seasonal variation. It was stated that at the same time there had been a 78 percent increase in per capita meat consumption. The number of horses increased more slowly than expected and was 74 percent of prewar, against the expected 78 percent.

Investments in agriculture, both direct and indirect, were budgeted at 2.0 billion forints in three years, 0.58 billion in the first year. In the first year actual investments exceeded the budgeted sum by 18 percent, largely because of the substantial private investments of farmers. Total agricultural investments in 29 months amounted to slightly less than 3.0 billion forints, 50 percent more than budgeted and the volume of investments was claimed to have been 34 percent greater than planned.

The most important result of the investment program was the establishment of 221 tractor stations with 3,800 tractors and a large amount of other agricultural machinery. Altogether some 4,500 tractors were added to the stock of 12,500. Other investments include the increase of the irrigated acreage by 15,000 hectares to a total of 26,000 hectares,[18] the setting up of sixteen stations for plant breeding and seventy-three stations for artificial insemination,[19] the building of 40,000 cubic meters of silos, and the reforestation of 59,000 hectares. As to indirect

17. For changes in the volume of aggregate output, see Tables IV, Va, and Vb.

18. Mainly for the growing of rice. Rice is now grown on 14,000 hectares, against 5,000 hectares before the war.

19. Sixty-two for horses, ten for cattle, one for sheep.

percent each. In contrast to the Three Year Plan the new investment plan provides a reserve of 2.5 billion forints for unforseen contingencies, and 3.3 billion forints are set aside to finance work preparatory to the second Five Year Plan.

In the 1950 budget, 7.2 billion forints were earmarked for investments, that is, 45 percent of the total expenditure. The 7.2 billion forints are in keeping with the estimated total investments of 8.1 billion forints (calculated on the basis of uniform rate of increase of the national income, 10.3 percent, and uniform rate of investment, 21.4 percent of the national income). It seems that, as in the Three Year Plan, savings were supposed to provide the funds for the increase in inventories.

For purposes of comparison the allocation of investments under the Three Year Plan and the First Five Year Plan is summarized in the following table:[3]

	Percentages of Total		
	Three Year Plan		Five Year Plan
	Budgeted	Actual	Budgeted
Manufacturing	27	32	42
Agriculture[4]	30	29	16
Transportation	25	19	15
Building	18	18	14
Distribution	--	2	2
Other	--	--	11
Total Percentage	100	100	100
Total, billion forints	6.6[5]	10.3[6]	50.9[7]

Agriculture

The increase in agricultural production is set at 42 percent above the 1949 level. The volume of crops is expected to increase by 35 percent, the output of the livestock industry by 51

3. For details see Table III in the Appendix.

4. About half of the investments in agriculture ought to have been listed under other headings. The agricultural investments under the First Five Year Plan, given as the 16 percent, represent agricultural investments proper. With indirect investments the share of agriculture rises to 25 percent.

5. January 1947 prices.

6. Current prices. At January 1947 prices about 8.3 billion forints.

7. "Plan prices" which seem to be about 20 percent higher than January 1947 prices.

8: Schweng S-4, 5 (no date) 1951 EC1 Hungary EC1

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percent. In the fifteen years of the interwar period (1924-25 to 1938-39) the gross value of agricultural production increased by 35 percent if valued at constant prices.[8]

The increases in average yields per unit of land necessary to achieve the contemplated rise in aggregate output are 13 percent for wheat, 27 percent for rye, 35 percent for corn, 30 percent for potatoes, 40 percent for sugar beets, 27 percent for sunflower seed, etc. As the expected, and even more, the actual yields of 1949 were all below prewar levels, the goals set are not excessive. In fact, with few exceptions, they correspond to, or are even below, the averages of 1936-40.

The yield of permanent pastures will be increased by 10 percent, that of orchards, vineyards and truck farms by 20 percent. The cattle population will be increased to 2.4 million head, the horse population to 750,000, the pig population to 5.6 million, and sheep to 1.6 million. This means reaching the 1942 level of cattle and sheep population. The number of horses and pigs would fall below the prewar level. In increasing livestock, priority will be given to state-owned and collective farms. Besides an increase in numbers, there will have to be an increase in yields. The average milk yield per cow is to be increased by 20 percent and the wool clip per sheep by 13 percent. Due attention is to be given to increasing the acreage under fodder crops to provide for the larger animal population.

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The increase in field crops is to be attained by large-scale mechanization resulting in better tillage, and by improved and up-to-date techniques applied in large units. The number of tractors is to be increased from about 17,000 at the end of 1949 to 22,800 in 1954. Of these, 19,500 will be operated by tractor stations, the number of which will be increased to 500. (At the end of 1949, there were 221 stations operating 3,800 tractors.) There is also to be a corresponding increase in other machinery. The use of fertilizers will be increased to 4.5 times the 1949 level.[9]

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Irrigated acreage (26,000 hectares in 1949) is to be increased by 68,000 hectares to 94,000 hectares. The irrigation project begun in 1937 will thus be about half completed. Serious effort is to be made to improve acid and alkaline soils, beginning with the improvement of 17,000 hectares of alkaline and 40,000

8. For volume of output see Tables III, IV, Va and Vb in the Appendix.

9. Production of superphosphate and nitrogenous fertilizers in 1949 was 157,000 tons against 80,000 tons in 1938. There may have been some exports, but most of the production was for home consumption.

9: Eppstein S-4 (no date) 1945 EC1 Hungary EC1

from each courtyard by a great fanfare on peculiar long trumpets of traditional shape. The swine, even more numerous, are usually in charge of an older man, but he, too, has his trumpet and his special call; and horse, cow or pig knows without error not only which tune he must obey in the morning, but also into which courtyard he must turn in the evening as the cavalcade proceeds down the village street, its guardian behind it, in a great cloud of dust. Only the geese, which are entrusted to the charge of little girls (the story of the goose-girl at the well surely originated in Hungary) are not woken by special music, which they supply by their own cackling. The communal pasture outside each village and the huge pond in the middle of it, with its geese and ducks, are common to nearly every Hungarian village throughout the country.

NATURE OF THE SOIL. There is much uniformity, too, in the cultivation. Huge fields of wheat or maize meet the eye everywhere. Nearly all the Hungarian soil is of the same type; a porous loess, which hardens in the higher areas to a dusty limestone, and crumbles in the flats into a loose sand. Through this there run comparatively few rivers, although those few—the Danube, the Tisza and their tributaries—are large and very important for the life of the country. Apart from them, water does not run in small streams, but collects in lakes and ponds, large or small, whence it eventually soaks its way underground to join the rivers. Thus in the plain it is rare to find a spring on or near the surface; on the other hand, almost anywhere

9; Eppstein S-4 (no date) 1945 EC1 Hungary EC1

some fruits, especially peaches and apricots, excellent liqueurs are distilled. In recent years, largely under the pressure of military necessity, the cultivation of industrial crops has made much progress.

THE VINEYARDS. Wine is produced in almost all parts of Hungary, often in very small peasant vineyards and by rather primitive methods. It is said that one family in every four of the entire population owns a vineyard. After the wheat harvest, the vintage is the great month of Hungarian agriculture, when half the population is out of its houses, gathering the grapes and pressing them in the tiny whitewashed huts which each family owns in its vineyard, perhaps a mile or so out of the village. The finer wines, which are exported, are cultivated in larger vineyards owned by the Crown, monasteries, or big landed proprietors.

LIVESTOCK. Livestock was at one time even more important than wheat, which only in the last century replaced cattle as the chief produce. In recent years, stock-breeding has regained a good deal of its importance and Hungary has now a large population of cattle and swine. Hungarians are rather heavy meat-eaters, even the poorer classes consuming a lot of bacon and lard. There is also a big export trade in cattle and pigs, live and slaughtered, and in various animal products, such as hides and bacon. Horses are bred for draught purposes, and the finer breeds also for sport. Sheep are bred less extensively: Hungarian wool is not of high quality, and the population does not take kindly to mutton as a dish.

Poultry, including geese, are kept on a very ex-

book written in 1622 contains 189 recipes for the thirty kinds of fish existing in it) yet the whole entertainment is still called : — bacon roasting. 264 252

A poor man begins with one sucking pig, to end with a pig weighing a ton ; but at a well-to-do house, particularly on the Great Plain, especially if the summer workmen have to be considered besides the people making up the household, six to eight pigs are killed in one winter. Amongst poor people it is the wife's duty to bring up and fatten the pig. She cares for it, even fondles it. She becomes proud of the dear little brute ; she watches it from day to day, — how it grows, improves, puts on weight. From time to time she tries to lift it up by the tail, as long as she can cope with its weight. Gradually the animal gets «ripe», it is already in the middle of November when it refuses to eat anymore. And when Elisabeth shakes her petticoat, — that is if it snows on Elisabeth's day (the 19th of November) they kill it, unless they prefer to wait until Catherine's, Andrew's or Lucia's day, — or even — if there is no hurry — until the middle of the two Christmasses (the period between «great» and «small» Christmas, that is between Christmas and New Year). 262 231 [821]

The killing of the pig is counted as a family feast, the children do not even go to school on that day. They feast, celebrating the event of having killed the pig. But there is a great deal of work before that. Practically every Hungarian farmer is an expert at killing and preparing the pig. If several pigs are killed, the farmer calls in only his good friends and pals, and the feast is really the reward for their help which cannot be paid for with money — and it is not done otherwise. 231 574

Work begins before the light of dawn. The friends and relations come with lamps, on their shoulders they bring pitch forks, a few of them carry knives. First of all they

10: Viski E-4, 5 (no date) 1932 EC1 Hungary EC1

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must fortify themselves for this cruel work. The stone bottle makes the round, filled with plum or peach brandy.

But one has to be careful with that poisonous drink, as everyone must remain sober. After it they eat a few hot cakes, or boiled sausages if any are left over from last year, then they take a few drops of wine and off they go to work! By the time it has dawned, the victim has already been brought back from the end of the village, where the actual killing and the singeing of its skin is done with great care and cleanliness. Gaiety and many jokes accompany the work the whole day through. At the end of the village the night wind bites through the air. A few drops of what they have been drinking in the house would be very welcome... But the work needs great care, therefore the host brought none of it with him. But one of his pals produces a flat stone bottle from his pocket; with a serious face he takes a long draught from it and hands it to his neighbour. He also takes a draught, but for nothing in the world would he let out that there is only water in it.... He too passes it on... Only when the bottle has got back to its owner, does someone remark: — «This is good brandy, a thousand pities that it *has not kept its currant*»; or «*this one has never been on a tree*»; or «*its strength has somewhat gone...*»

Meanwhile everyone works at home; water is being boiled, the pap thinned, pepper or paprika pounded, knives sharpened, firkins cleaned, fresh dish-clothes prepared... Everything is extremely clean, only in the air do many smells and much steam collect; the house is full of them.

The dissecting and preparing is done with great skill, no trained butcher could do it better: They know every part of the animal, and each part is used for a different purpose; the name of all these would make up a whole dictionary. They keep on washing their hands, their cleanliness is extraordinary.